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A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[5] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[6] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[5] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 629. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[6] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

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548 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting
●829 with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *loñko* supervised negotiations with the *loñko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach
836 an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 613 621 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *wesa* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Ñenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *karuhue*, are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen *in the vertical emphasis* on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and chicha.

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work